

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ROME 12180 01 OF 02 261917Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 TRSE-00 EURE-00 /059 W
-----085006 261959Z /73

P R 261700Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6102
INFO AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
MCONSUL PALERMO 1576
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 12180

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJECT: PCI CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING REVIEWS PROGRAMMATIC
ACCORD AND LOOKS TO FUTURE

SUMMARY. A TWO-DAY SESSION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S
(PCI) CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC), HELD IN ROME ON JULY 20 AND 21,
REFLECTED BOTH PCI SATISFACTION OVER THE CONCLUSION OF THE
INTER-PARTY NEGOTIATION FOR A PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD AND A MEASURE
OF PERPLEXITY ABOUT THE FUTURE. THE PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD WAS
VIEWED AS AN OBLIGATORY STEP FOR A PARTY SUCH AS THE PCI WHICH
HAS A LONG TERM VISION. PARTY EFFORTS WILL NOW BE DIRECTED
TOWARD THE MASSES TO ENSURE THAT THEY UNDERSTAND THE SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE ACCORD AS PERCEIVED BY THE PCI. DURING THE CC SESSION,
THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PCI
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PAGE 02 ROME 12180 01 OF 02 261917Z

AND THE SOCIALISTS (PSI) WAS NOTED SUGGESTING THAT THE
COMMUNISTS ARE CONCERNED OVER THE PROSPECTS OF THE PSI
EITHER GOING INTO THE OPPOSITION OR RETURNING TO AN
EVENTUAL COALITION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (DC).
END SUMMARY.

1. THE PCI HELD A TWO-DAO CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION ON

JULY 20 AND 21 TO SUM UP THE POLITICAL GAINS ACHIEVED FROM THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD AND TO ASSESS FUTURE PROSPECTS AND TACTICS. PARTY SECRETARIAT MEMBER CHIAROMONTE, DESCRIBED BY MANY OBSERVERS AS SECRETARY GENERAL BERLINGUER'S RIGHT-HAND MAN, DELIVERED ON JULY 20 THE PRINCIPAL ADDRESS, WHICH HAD BEEN APPROVED DURING A MEETING OF THE PARTY'S DIRECTORATE TWO DAYS EARLIER. JUDGING FROM L'UNITA COVERAGE OF THE CC, BERLINGUER HIMSELF DID NOT SPEAK AT THE CC.

2. CHIAROMONTE'S LENGTHY SPEECH, SUMMARIZED IN L'UNITA TOGETHER WITH THE COMMENTS OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CC WHO SPOKE, REFLECTED A MIXTURE OF CAUTIOUS SATISFACTION OVER THE CONCLUSION OF THE SIX PARTY PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD WITH A MEASURE OF CONCERN OVER THE POSSIBLE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COUNTRY LATER IN THE YEAR. WITH ALL ITS LIMITS, CHIAROMONTE DESCRIBED THE ACCORD AS HAVING AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND AS A NECESSARY STAGE FOR THOSE SUCH AS THE COMMUNISTS WHO LOOK AT THINGS OVER THE LONG TERM. AT THE SAME TIME HE NOTED THAT THE SIGNING OF THE ACCORD IS NEITHER A TIME FOR MANIFESTATION OF EXCESSIVE ENTHUSIASM NOR A MOMENT TO SPEAK OF A HISTORIC CHANGE IN THE ITALIAN POLITICAL FRAMEWORK, NOTING AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT THE PROGRAM WHICH HAS BEEN AGREED UPON WILL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 ROME 12180 01 OF 02 261917Z

BE ADMINISTERED BY A GOVERNMENT SOLELY IN THE HANDS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS.

3. CHIAROMONTE OBSERVED THAT THE ITALIAN POLITICAL PARTIES TOGETHER WITH THE ITALIAN PEOPLE NOW HAVE THE TASK OF INSURING THAT THE POINTS OF THE ACCORD ARE IMPLEMENTED. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE PCI THIS WILL REQUIRE AN EXCEPTIONAL DEGREE OF MOBILIZATION FROM PARTY MILITANTS TO AVOID ERRORS WHICH THE PCI HAS MADE SINCE JUNE 20, 1976. CHIAROMONTE DEFINED THESE ERRORS AS FAILURE TO STIMULATE AND TO DIRECT MASS MOVEMENTS WHICH WOULD INVOLVE A LARGE PORTION OF THE NATION'S ELECTORATE, INCLUDING EVEN THAT OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. AT THE SAME TIME HE NOTED THE NEED FOR THE PCI TO EQUIP ITSELF QUOTE TO OVERCOME DEFECTS IN COORDINATION AND IN WORK THAT EXIST TODAY IN THE SECTIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IN THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS, AND IN CENTERS OF STUDY AND RESEARCH. END QUOTE.

4. REFERRING TO THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PERIOD OF THE CENTER-LEFT GOVERNING FORMULA AND THAT OF TODAY, CHIAROMONTE NOTED THAT ONE SUBSTANTIAL ELEMENT OF

CHANGE IS THAT THERE ARE NOW NO MAJOR DIVERGENCIES
BETWEEN THE POLICIES OF THE PCI AND THE PSI. HE POINTED
OUT THAT QUOTE THE DEGREE OF UNITY BETWEEN THESE TWO
PARTIES, AND ALSO AMONG THE OTHER INTERMEDIATE DEMO-
CRATIC FORCES, IS TODAY INCOMPARABLY GREATER WITH RESPECT
TO THAT WHICH EXISTED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1960'S.
END QUOTE. CHIAROMONTE GAVE CREDIT TO THE SOCIALISTS

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PAGE 01 ROME 12180 02 OF 02 261941Z
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 12180

FOR PROVIDING THE PUSH THAT LED TO THE NEGOTIATIONS
FOR THE PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD AND FOR BATTLING
FOR THE END OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE
COMMUNISTS ON THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SCENE. UNDER THE
CIRCUMSTANCES, CHIAROMONTE SEES AN IDENTITY OF VIEWS ON
FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES BETWEEN THE PCI AND PSI AND SOLICITED
THE ENTIRE PCI APPARATUS TO VIEW THE DEVELOPMENT OF
RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALISTS AS A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE
OF PCI POLICY.

5. A REVIEW OF THE PUBLISHED SUMMARIES OF THE BRIEF
SPEECHES DELIVERED BY OTHER CC MEMBERS REVEALED NO
SIGNS OF DIVERGENCIES FROM CURRENT PARTY LINE. OF NOTE

WAS THE FORCEFUL RESPONSE BY BOLOGNA MAYOR ZANGHERI TO A GROUP OF FRENCH INTELLECTUALS (LED BY SARTRE) WHO ALLEGE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 ROME 12180 02 OF 02 261941Z

THAT GROWING DC-PCI COOPERATION IN ITALY IS LEADING TO POLITICAL REPRESSION. THE SARTRE GROUP HAD SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO THE HANDLING OF THE MWHCH STUDENT DISORDERS IN BOLOGNA, MAKING IT NATURAL THAT THE PCI'S COUNTERATTACK COME FROM ZANGHERI. ON THE SUBJECT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (CHIAROMONTE HAD NOTED THAT FOREIGN AFFAIRS WERE NOT A PART OF THE INTER-PARTY DISCUSSIONS ALTHOUGH THEY HAD BEEN DEALT WITH IN THE SUBSEQUENT CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES' DEBATE ON THE SIX PARTY MOTION.), PCI FOREIGN SECTION DEPUTY CHIEF ANTONIO RUBBI SAID THAT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HAD DEMONSTRATED AN INCREASING UNITY OF IDEAS IN THIS AREA AMONG THE VARIS POLITICAL FORCES. HE REITERATED THE PCI' COMMITMENT TO THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ALLIANCES OF ITALY, INCLUDING THE PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH DEFENSE, AND ITS OPPOSITION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN EUROPE AS A THIRD WORLD BLOC. RUBBI SAID THAT THE BJECTIVES OF THE PCI'S FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE SEEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ITS EUROPEAN VISION, A FACTOR WHOSE IMPORTANCE HAS NOT BEEN FULLY UNDERSTOOD AND RECOGNIZED WITHIN THE PARTY.

6. COMMENT, THE MOST RECENT CC OFFERED THE PARTY A CONVENIENT OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW ITS SITUATION FOLLOWING THE CONCLUSION OF THE INTER-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD AND BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE SUMMER VACATION PERIOD. WHILE SATISFIED THAT THE ACCORD REPRESENTS A NECESSARY STAGE IN THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF THE COUNTRY LEADING TO A DIRECT PCI PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNING PROCESS, THE CC RESULTS SUGGEST THAT THE PARTY IS FULLY AWARE OF THE DIFFICULT SHOALS THROUGH WHICH IT WILL HAVE TO NAVIGATE IN COMING MONTHS. TWO FACTORS EMERGE FROM THE CC AS KEY TO PCI TACTICS. THE FIRST IS TO INCREASE THE PARTY'S WORK WITH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 ROME 12180 02 OF 02 261941Z

THE MASSES TO ENSURE THAT DISSENT WITH OR LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE OFFICIAL LINE CAN BE MINIMIZED TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE. THE SECOND IS TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO REDUCE THE POSSIBILITY EITHER OF THE PSI PASSING INTO DIRECT OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT, THUS LEAVING THE PCI POLITICALLY EXPOSED AS A PARTY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT, OR OF RETURNING TO SOME TYPE OF GOVERNING

COALITION WITH THE DC AND THE LAY PARTIES WHICH WOULD HAVE
THE POTENTIAL OF RETURNING THE PCI INVOLUNTARILY TO THE
OPPOSITION.HOLMES

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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